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THE LIVING RACES OF THE SAHARA DESERT

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A Targui noble of the Ahaggar, beside his tent. (Photograph by L. C. Briggs.)

[Frontispiece]

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THE TUAREG

114 Most of what has been written about the Tuareg is of very little value for the purposes of modern ethnological study. Much of it is merely superficial and more is the result of serious but amateurish work by men who were often enough sincerely dedicated students of mankind, but whose great enthusiasm could not make up for their lack of that broad yet specialized professional grounding without which no one is fully equipped to analyze socio-economic patterns of human communities, however simple they may be.

This may sound like an unjustly harsh and pretentiously stuffy statement, but it is not. What fever-stricken soldier in his right mind would go to the colonel's office for medical attention? What farmer would take a broken-down tractor to the village minister to be repaired? It is an inconvenient fact that highly specialized work can be well done only by people with sound professional training or great experience, preferably both; but this simple fact has been ignored all too often in ethnological research where there is no compelling force like commercial competition to make it obvious. Ethnological research in the Sahara Desert has suffered grievously as a re-

114 sult, and the Tuareg have been among the most spectacular victims.

The famous veil of these great desert warriors (figs. 25, 26, and 51) has cast its shadow of romantic mystery not only over the faces of its wearers but over their whole culture, and so both opportunity and temptation to romanticize have overcome to some extent many of those who have written about the Tuareg tribes. In the summer of 1956 the author heard a well-known public lecturer and traveler, who had even been to Tamanrasset for a few days, declare to his unsuspecting audience of honest New England farmers that the Tuareg are probably descended from a little band of crusaders who got cut off in the rock-walled valley of Petra (in what is now the Kingdom of Jordan), whence they finally escaped and found their way (heaven knows how) clear across Africa to the mountains of the Ahaggar. He added that Tuareg men are [141] about 7 feet tall—and he was speaking in a church—although the tallest one so far recorded measured just over 6 feet 5½ inches, while the average Targui stands only about 5 feet 8 in his sandal-feet (*see* table A-2).

114 Tuareg morality and personal hygiene have
515 been the subjects of hardly less exaggeration. Several generations of frustrated readers have by now found vicarious satisfaction in titillating tales of the great ladies of the Ahaggar, beautiful of face and graceful, gracious and unclean, skilled in the arts of love, poetry and music, fascinating and refined and evil-smelling. These unattractively attractive custodians of a spuriously antique chivalrous tradition have been said to welcome to their bosoms and their beds nearly all socially presentable admirers, while their docile husbands stand modestly aside and show their good breeding by
114 concealing their emotions. Few authors seem to have been bothered by the glaring contrast between this rather pitiful picture of long-suffering patience and the very different one that they usually present only a few pages earlier, in which we see the fire-breathing knights of the Ahaggar, those seven-foot sons of the flower of Christian chivalry, busily chasing each other up and down the rocky mountain slopes when there doesn't happen to be anyone else around to kill. But this contrast bothers us—surely there must be something wrong somewhere. So let us take a

114 closer look and find out just what really does go on in the bosom of such a seemingly impossible community. The best general source on the Ahaggar Tuareg is probably Blanguernon (1955), while Benhazera (1908) gives some valuable demographic data and Lhote (1947 and 1955) supplies a mass of miscellaneous details. But all these works are in French: Rodd (1926), writing in English, gives a fairly good general picture of the Tuareg as a whole although he deals primarily with the Aïr.

101 The Tuareg of the Sahara proper, as we have defined it, are divided into three confederations, those of the Tassili n Ajjer, the Ahaggar and the Adrar n Ifoghas, distributed in that order from Northeast to Southwest.

[161] There are probably only about 10,000 or 11,000 of them in all, for most of the Tuareg, some 140,000 strong, now live outside our area in the Aïr and the northern central Sudan. We will take the Ahaggar confederation as our Tuareg socio-economic sample because this group not only seems to have remained the least affected by foreign influence but has also been the most extensively studied and described, and because it is the only one with which the author is personally familiar.

101 The Tuareg as a whole used to range over
166 an enormous territory extending roughly as far north as Ouargla, eastward to Gatroun,
131 westward to a bit beyond a line running from Aoulef to Timbuctoo, and southward to below the Niger Bend and the northern border of Nigeria. The eastern, northern and western limits of this range have been slowly driven back over the last few centuries, first by ever stronger Arab pressure from the East and North and then by the gradual southward extension of French and, more recently, Italian control. These steadily increasing pressures have produced a steadily increasing though fluctuating flow of the Tuareg population southward from the Desert proper, through the Aïr and the Adrar n Ifoghas and into the Sudan. Under the stimulus of disaster in one form or another, this flow has occasionally become torrential for brief periods, as when, following the suppression of the 1916–18 rebellion, a great wave of Aïr Tuareg moved into British Nigeria (Rodd, 1926, p. 361) and the main body of the Taïtoq tribe left their home range in the western Ahaggar for the

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwest-
ward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds
[101] fairly closely to the present normal range of the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
[161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these
565 are divided into tribes which are subdivided into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] *A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

†Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in
551 as many different ways as are the geographical names
104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 *A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

565 Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the clan rather than of the individual, for the
614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about
[554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol," [6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

619 The Ahaggar confederation comprises three
614 tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the Taïtoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole [7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier
[443] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

614 It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is
622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by
562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually
[578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of
614 cousinship and outside the camp community
611 or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits rank and privileges through the mother, re-
428 gardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

591 husband are of different clans. A Tuareg camp is usually known, however, by the name of the highest ranking male member of the camp community. Children are normally brought up and continue to live among the group which their parents finally joined on a permanent basis, although boys are sometimes brought up by a maternal uncle. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of one of her brothers or married sons.

837 The question of moral laxity hardly con-
[835] cerns us here, for even if irregular sexual relations were as general among the ladies of the Ahaggar as some authors would have us believe, they are still confined as a rule to the kinship group of the clan or at least to that of the tribe. But even so we will do well to examine briefly a widespread popular misconception. In point of fact we can probably
[582] accept Blanguernon's (1955, p. 141) statement that a substantial majority of Tuareg ladies remain virgin until wed, even though the usual age at marriage is 20 to 25 for women and close to 30 for men. Monogamy is the uni-
586 versal rule and divorce is both unusual and
837 generally frowned on. Adultery is probably no more common than it is in most societies where husbands and wives are frequently separated for periods varying from a couple of days to several months. An injured husband
[684] theoretically has the right to kill both his wife and her lover if they are caught in the act, but in practice he usually repudiates his wife although he may decide to keep her regardless of her faults, in which case he appeals to the Amenokal who then fines the corespondent. The injured wife of an unfaithful husband simply packs up and goes back to her own people, unless she prefers to ignore the whole affair.

837 It has been said that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar, single or married, lend themselves freely to male friends and guests as a general rule, but this is certainly a myth. We get the impression that in this matter, and in others too, some authors have not only been influenced subconsciously by the conditioning of their own societies, but have also extrapolated hypothetical Tuareg behavior from behavior sometimes observed among the Tuareg when in contact with their new European rulers.

837 There can be little doubt that the behavior patterns of the Tuareg on such occasions are often different from those which characterize them when they are among themselves.

We must not forget either that irregular sexual activities, before or after marriage, are all but impossible to conceal in the wide open spaces of a desert, whereas it is no trick at all to hide them among the blocks and sky-scrapers of great cities like Paris and New York or even in such provincial capitals as Boston and Algiers. All things considered, it seems rather unlikely that sexual laxity is more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg than it is in the urban communities of western Europe and America, at least in cases where husbands and their wives are separated as often and for comparable periods of time.

593 422 A bride retains full title to all her personal property including livestock, while the husband pays all the family expenses out of his own pocket although his wife may contribute if she feels so inclined. 562 Women are treated with the greatest respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor can they exercise any command beyond the very limited field of their own household affairs, nor can they appear in council or appoint speakers to represent them there. On very rare occasions a noble woman may intervene as an official peacemaker in a quarrel so serious that it might lead to a blood feud if allowed to go unchecked, and this can happen even in cases where the parties to the quarrel are not related to her by either blood or marriage, but only an older woman of very high rank and renowned for her intelligence, strength of character and diplomacy can ever play such a role.

611 The discerning reader will have noticed that the picture we have just examined is full of gaping holes which cannot be filled in at present for lack of the necessary information. In spite of this we get a distinct impression of a double descent system as defined by Gibson (1956): "the utilization in one society of both patrilineal and matrilineal principles of affiliation resulting in two lineage systems cross-cutting each other." Among the Ahaggar Tuareg the patrilineal descent system is "conjunctive" in that it provides channels of interaction between segments of a "disjunctive" matrilineal system which "divides the society

611 into separate corporate bodies," and so the situation in the Ahaggar appears to be the reverse of that which Gibson found among the cattle-raising Herero of Ngamiland, in southwestern Africa. The Tuareg descent system is like that of the Herero, however, in that "The present function is in terms of a wide range of kin-like relationships leading to economic co-operation and to intermarriage among persons unrelated patrilineally" (although rarely "of scattered origin"). "Double descent, therefore, permits a society such as the Herero," or the Tuareg as a whole, "highly fractured into scattered and politically independent local groups, to maintain cultural uniformity and social cohesion. . . . The segmentation of matri-clans . . . appears to be no more than a mechanism for limiting the wide extension of exogamy and special privilege to persons not too distantly related; it was quite likely a concomitant of an expanding population and the scattering of the tribe."

121 611 [174] It is not unnatural to jump to the conclusion, as Gautier (1935, pp. 33 and 109), Lhote (1955, pp. 186–88) and others have done, that the ancestral Tuareg of ancient times were exclusively matrilineal and fully matriarchal as well, and that the patrilineal elements we find in modern Tuareg culture were acquired relatively recently through Moslem influence, but this is not necessarily so. The concept of double descent was stated for the first time by Rattray (1923, pp. 77–78) in his description of the pagan Ashanti of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), among whom "Inheritance and succession to authority follow the female line and the avunculate exists, but residence is patrilocal and the household consists of a patriarchal extended family" (Murdock, 1940, p. 557, paraphrasing Rattray), a situation which was probably characteristic of the pre-Islamic Tuareg as well. The Ashanti also have matri-sibs based on "blood" inherited in the maternal line, and patri-sibs based on "spirit" inherited through the father, and this again suggests that the basic concepts underlying the double descent systems of the Ashanti and Tuareg have much in common.

Gibson (1956, p. 137) seems inclined to think that the double descent systems of the Herero and of the southwestern Bantu in general evolved "as a whole," matrilineal and

patrilineal elements being present together in a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

Land Tenure and Tribute. The Amenokal of the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from that of the President of the United States.

The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs under him collect tribute from those whose destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in
[427] any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or
651 both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

651 Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of
651 this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in recent years, for the Amenokal together with
178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class
233 **System.** All Saharan nomads live primarily off
137 their livestock, and livestock lives off pasturage. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

233 across much of the land and concentrated
[137] along dry river bottoms, and the small patches of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish briefly in hollows here and there following rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must move often, for the supply in the immediate neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted.
[312] To make life still more difficult, water points are often few and far between as we already know, and it is not unusual to find good pasturage so far from any water that it cannot be used for more than a day or two, if at all. This combination of circumstances has
233 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg
221 to break up into small and highly mobile camp units composed of fractions of clans, or even single families, and each of these units must move at intervals of usually somewhere between a week and a month and often over considerable distances, although always within the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

As soon as a camp or constellation of neighboring camps is established in a new location, the head men first set up the daily grazing routine of the flocks and then set out at once to scout far and wide in search of the next pasture to be used and the next camp sites that their families will occupy. And so it goes the year around, and so the Tuareg of the Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force of circumstances, for they cannot survive otherwise in the region which they have made their own.

565 It is in the compelling circumstances of
233 their environment that we find the roots of
463 the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for,
182 quite apart from the question of mobility, such conditions can be met successfully only by a well conceived and firmly established division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal clans who ride out in search of new pastures and at the same time act as military scouts, always on the watch for enemy raiders as

[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of medieval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

565 well as for potential victims, alien camps or
233 caravans which they can raid themselves. The
463 vassals in their turn are responsible for the daily management and immediate protection of the flocks and herds, and also constitute an armed reserve that can be called up quickly in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity for a major raid presents itself. The
[567] slaves take care of the domestic service and household chores of the camps while their boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

565 Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar;
642 for no pastoral community can survive there without nomadizing, and no community of
[182] nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized division of labor and authority similar to that embodied in the class system of the Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the seemingly paradoxical combination, within the social framework, of rigidity during the period of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity over slightly longer periods still so short as to span often no more than a couple of generations and sometimes less, is not in fact a paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple functional terms the fact that extreme conditions call for an extreme response, that the framework within which the allocation of authority is made at various levels in the communal structure must be very firmly established but must also allow considerable freedom periodically in the choice of those who are to occupy critical positions of decision and command so as to avoid the danger of having such positions filled automatically by persons unfit to occupy them, a danger that could well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government really has nothing essential in common with the feudal system of mediæval Europe to which it has so often been confusingly compared.[9] In the last analysis authority resides in the vassals, for they can make and at least
[643] in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles, the Amenokal himself, and they can do all this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

565 642 this by peaceful means, at least again in theory. Ancient Egyptian records tell of a Libyan chieftain, Meryey who was peacefully deposed and replaced by a younger brother following a disastrous defeat in battle (Bates, 1914, pp. 114–15, 218 and 221). It is some of the vassal clans that are the biggest numerically and also the richest on a *per capita* basis; and if vassal clansmen pay tribute to their noble "masters" it is only because they choose to do so, because they find it in their interest to keep the nobles on their payroll so to speak. Thus the Tuareg government of the Ahaggar is in fact a kind of republic and not a real monarchy or true military aristocratic autocracy at all.

232 **Livestock.** Herds of camels and flocks of hairy sheep and goats constitute the bulk of the capital investment and so form the primary basis of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. The quantity and composition of the total livestock investment has been variously estimated, but the following rough approximations are probably not far from the true figures: camels—12,000, sheep—2,000, goats—20,000, donkeys—5,000 and cattle (zebus)—300 or thereabouts. [231] Donkeys, as we have seen, are unproductive except as beasts of burden, and the cattle are so few as to be of negligible importance. Only some 4,500 camels are actually kept in the Ahaggar while the rest are put out to pasture in the Tamesna region on the northern edge of the Sudan, roughly half way between the Aïr and the Niger Bend. Most of the sheep too are pastured outside the Ahaggar proper, mainly in the country around Tin Zaouaten, southwest of the Ahaggar and northwest of the Tamesna.

235 262 The Haratin of the Ahaggar keep chickens, but only the eggs are eaten as a rule. The Tuareg eat neither eggs, fowl nor fish, but we will discuss this further in the section on *Nomad Diet* in the following chapter.

232 It has been said that the Tuareg have no special breed of riding camels but that likely looking animals are picked out early and given special training for use as mounts. The fact remains, however, that the young of famous stud camels are always the preferred choice, and these animals are specially marked shortly after birth. The method of marking consists of pinching up three small folds of skin in a row, about 2 to 3 inches apart, along

232 the ridge of the nose, and then tying a very thin leather thong very tightly around the base of each fold much as a string is tied around the opening of a toy balloon to keep the air in. After a while the thongs are cut away and three little round knobs, about the size of the end of your index finger, remain for the rest of the camel's life as a kind of hallmark of outstanding quality (fig. 26, *a*). Riding camels are very carefully and patiently trained from the age of about 2 years on, and the males are castrated when about 5 years old.

439 **Trading.** We have now seen that pastoralism is the central column and garden rent a corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. Trade is the second corner post, and salt is, as we have seen, the chief article of export.

[317] In April or May some of the Ahaggar Tuareg send their slaves to the salt mines of the Amadror for two or three weeks. In July they go south with their cargoes of salt, through the

[487] rich pastures of the Tamesna region where they rest their animals for a while or exchange them for fresh ones, and then on to the commercial centers of the country just north of the Nigerian frontier. Here trading begins in earnest, late in October as a rule, and endless discussions and bargaining go on for a couple of months or so. Salt, and also camels, donkeys, and dates obtained from the North, are exchanged chiefly for millet but also for a variety of manufactured articles such as cotton cloth and clothing, leather goods, sandals, saddles and bridles, wooden household utensils and tools and weapons of iron and steel. In January the Ahaggar Tuareg turn north again, pause once more for a while in the Tamesna, and finally reach their homes in March or early April.

Camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys and congealed melted butter used to be traded in the oases of the Tidikelt and the Touat mainly for dates, and also for cotton cloth, thin woolen blankets from the Gourara, tea, sugar and tobacco. Caravans engaged in this trade used to leave the Ahaggar in January or early February and return in April. Over the last 30 years or so, however, this commercial current has been reduced to a mere trickle by middlemen with trucks who have gradually taken over delivery of the goods that caravans used to fetch from the North. The trade still exists in a sense, but it has become indirect

439 and its focus is now strictly local as far as the Tuareg are concerned.

Salt and dates were once traded in the Niger Bend country for camels, sheep, millet and rice, and camels, sheep and goatskins used to be traded to Ghadamès in exchange for swords, richly embroidered cloaks, dates, tea and sugar. Ghadamès is still an important center for the production of metal utensils and occasionally weapons.

439 **Protection.** Aside from their own trading activities, the Tuareg used to control caravan
486 trade in general over a very wide area, and this was the third corner post of their economy. Barth (1857, vol. 1, p. 238), writing a century ago, tells us that in his day the Amenokal of the Ahaggar, Guémama, controlled all trade routes between Mourzouk and Timbuctoo, and it seems likely that this situation already dated back over a considerable period. The Ahaggar Tuareg used to control all trade in the southwestern Sahara as far west as Ouadane and southward into northern Nigeria at least as early as the beginning of the 15th century, but their grip on much of this area, and notably on the salt trade of the southwestern Desert, was broken by the Moroccans at the end of the 16th century, and the Tuareg never seem to have extended it again much beyond Aoulef in the Northwest or southwestward beyond Timbuctoo.

The mechanism of control was based on the furnishing of guides and armed escorts to caravans passing through areas under Tuareg domination, and for these services there was a fairly uniform customary scale of charges based on the estimated value of a caravan's cargo and the reputed wealth of the owners. Caravan leaders sometimes failed to agree on the figure to be paid and proceeded on their own, while big caravans occasionally brought guides and guards along with them and small ones now and then tried to slip through unobserved. The Tuareg, however, succeeded in making such expedients unprofitable in most cases by themselves raiding reluctant customers along the road. Thus a highly profitable protection racket was maintained for several centuries before the period of European domination.

721 **Raiding.** The fourth economic corner post of the Ahaggar Tuareg was raiding pure and

721 simple, and this activity can be divided into two main types according to the chief object in view. Raiding for booty was practised irregularly but fairly often, especially in times of hardship or in connection with intertribal feuds. Sneak attacks by small bands who lifted livestock and then promptly fled with it were typical. Slave raiding was practised on a fairly regular basis. In the nomad camps of the
727 Ahaggar the number of Negro domestic servants is usually about equal to the number of Tuareg present, and this labor force used to be replenished when necessary by raids on Negro villages in the desert fringe of the Sudan and occasionally even on Tuareg camps in the Aïr, Tamesna and Adrar n Ifoghas regions. The present writer knows a mulatto freedwoman who was taken in this way from the Aïr some 40 years ago, and has long been happily settled at Tamanrasset; and she is by no means an exception. Thus raiding, the fourth corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar, was primarily a mechanism designed to keep the supply of livestock, both animal and human, at a satisfactory level in an area where the environment caused a steady normal decrease in the local supply.

Economic Summary. We have seen that pas-
177 toralism was the central column and crop
182 shares, trading, protection and raiding the four corner posts of the economic structure of the Ahaggar Tuareg. With the coming of European domination the last two pillars were kicked away, the third buckled and bent to a mere fraction of its former height, and the roof fell in along three sides and part of the fourth. The Ahaggar Tuareg presumably never lived a life of ease—no pastoralist can in such a rigorous environment—but their greatest perils used to be those of warfare. These dangers have been removed completely by the new European rulers of the area, and yet the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a whole are undoubtedly in worse economic shape today than they have ever been before. Their old
182 culture, whatever some may think of it on the basis of modern European standards, was remarkably well adapted to conditions in their chosen homeland. The destruction of two of its five main supports and the progressive weakening of a third have thrown their economic structure so seriously out of balance that the whole edifice is obviously doomed,

182 and the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a nation, too stubborn to adapt themselves to any way of life other than their own, have at last signed their name to the ever-lengthening list of vanishing peoples.

342 Shelter. The typical dwelling of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a leather tent, made preferably of the skins of goats although sometimes those of sheep or even calves are used (fig. 36). A tent of moufion skins is considered the height of luxury and elegance, but it is almost impossible to come by enough of them to make such a tent nowadays. The prepared skins are 281 very soft and have a pleasing dull red brick 342 color which is produced by rubbing them on both sides with a mixture of red ocherous clay and dried camel dung. After being prepared and cut down to rectangular form, they are sewed together with fine strips of leather. Anywhere from 30 to as many as 150 may be used to make a single tent, but the first number is not far below the average. A finished tent of ordinary size weighs about 50 pounds more or less.

342 Tents are mounted on wooden frames of various closely similar types, the most common of which consists of three elements, each composed of two uprights with a horizontal member laid across their tops. The highest element is set in the middle with one upright in front and the other in the back, and the two remaining elements are set up parallel to it, one on either side. The tent covering is then stretched over this framework, with its back and sides pegged down and the front left open, usually facing south. In good weather the overhanging front of the roof is stretched out horizontally to form an awning held in place by three supplementary posts, one in the middle and another at each end. The average tent is 6 to 10 feet deep from front to back, 10 to 15 feet wide and 4 to 5 feet high in the middle, with the roof sloping away very gently on both sides and toward the back wall. The structure is completed by [285] long strips of stiff, yellow matting made of 351 thin reeds, roughly 3 feet wide and up to 20 feet long more or less, with simple geometric designs in black or reddish brown leather ribbon woven into them. These strips are set on edge around the inside of the tent so as to make an inner wall at the back and sides,

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

562 Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself
342 the men's place is on the right as you enter and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

352 Household furniture and effects include
[439] sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons,
[415] wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden
[412] mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, *a*). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

361 Camps are always pitched in an inconspicuous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

361 less and there is no immediate fear of a sud-
den downpour that might produce flash floods.
592 Each tent is occupied by a single family unit
and there are almost never more than 5 or 6
361 tents at the most in any normal camp. In the
camp of the Amenokal there are usually 15
644 to 20 tents or even more, and one sees no
flocks nearby, but this is a wholly artificial
situation made possible only by the fact that
the Amenokal and his personal retinue receive
most of their supplies by truck from the
nearest French Army post, and so can live in
a way that would be impossible in the Ahag-
gar under anything approaching normal con-
ditions.

Clothing, Cosmetics and Cleanliness. In the old
291 days the Tuareg used to wear leather shirts
that reached below the knee and were some-
times elaborately decorated with fringe.
Monod (1947, p. 47) recalls that Herodotus
(IV, 189) described Libyan women as wear-
ing fringed garments of red leather some 2,500
years ago, and he adds that some Tuareg
women of the Niger Bend country still do so.
Lyon (1821, p. 110 and plates facing pp. 110
and 113) tells us that leather shirts were worn
by many of the Tuareg who visited Mourzouk
while he was there in 1819, but Duveyrier
(1864, p. 406) found that they were already
becoming scarce only 40 years later. The pres-
ent writer has seen no leather clothing worn
by anyone in the Ahaggar, although Ben-
hazera (1908, p. 37) says that poor folk wore
leather clothes there 50 years ago while Rey-
gasse (1950, p. 97) states that leather shirts
are still worn by some of the slaves and Capot-
Rey (1953, p. 226) adds that they are often
worn by smiths.

Another once characteristic article of
Tuareg dress that has now gone largely out
of use was the high, conical fezlike cap, made
of soft red felt and worn sticking up through
the middle of the turban, that Lyon (1821)
saw at Mourzouk. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p.
424, footnote) says that caps of this kind were
"obnoxious to the" Tuareg "tribes of pure
blood" in 1850 but this is probably either an
error or a matter of local eccentricity, for
they were still standard equipment in Duvey-
rier's time. They disappeared almost com-
pletely from the Ahaggar, however, in the
course of the next 50 years or less although

29 some Moroccan Arab tribes wear them even now. This type of headdress seems to have been exactly or almost exactly like the tall, fezlike tasseled cap that we see worn, though without a turban, by Chusor Phtah in portraits that occur on coins struck probably during the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. at the provincial Berber capital of Lixus, the modern Tchemmich, an old Phoenician settlement on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, roughly half way between Rabat and Tangier (Mazard, 1955, pp. 60, 64, 125 and 153; figs. 630–35, 640–42). Chusor Phtah has been identified as the diety who was supposed by the Phoenicians to have brought order out of primeval chaos. And so we are left wondering if the high-crowned floppy fez of the Tuareg was originally a northwestern African Berber invention or a Phoenician import from the Near
[177] East. In any case it suggests the possibility of a very early relationship of some sort between the Tuareg and the northwestern coastal fringe of Barbary.

Tuareg men today wear very loose, baggy trousers made of dark indigo blue or black cotton cloth,[10] which are held in place in the same way as our pajama trousers are but with a braided leather cord by way of drawstring. The seat is baggy and hangs down below the knees, the ends of the legs are sewed up so as to fit closely around the ankles, and there are no pockets and no fly. A loose, white cotton shirt, rather like a nightgown with very wide sleeves of medium length, used to be
[177] the standard undergarment, but the gandoura of the Arabs finally replaced it and is now being replaced in turn by the European type of shirt. The Tuareg gandoura is made of a huge rectangle of cloth, roughly 7 to 8 feet wide by 8 to 9 feet long. This is folded over on itself and the free corners are sewn together so as to leave the bottom and most of both sides open, a V-shaped opening for the head and neck is cut out of the fold at the top, and a large patch is sewed on inside so as to make a roomy pocket placed just below the left breast. The gandoura worn next to the skin, or directly over the undershirt, is usually made of white cotton, and a second

[10] Frequent reference to the plates will make the following descriptions easier to understand.

291 one, of dark indigo blue cotton cloth this time, is customarily worn over it. On gala occasions some of the Tuareg wear a third gandoura, made of very narrow vertical strips of Sudanese cotton cloth dyed a lurid pinkish violet or of alternate strips of violet and white or dark blue, often with two large spiral patterns embroidered in coarse white thread, one over the left breast and the other on the back between the shoulders. This third type of gandoura has gone almost completely out of use within the last few years, but, like the white tie and tails of our own formal dress, it is still worn occasionally and is considered very elegant. A Tuareg gandoura should be wide enough so that when the upper corners hang down freely they cover the hands, but they are usually rolled up over the forearms so as to leave the hands free and sometimes are folded over the shoulders, thus freeing the whole arm.

A woolen outer garment is occasionally worn in cold weather. Lightweight blankets from the Gourara and the Touat used to be worn like giant shawls, but these have been replaced to a great extent by the "burnous" (Arabic = *bernoos*) of the Arabs, a long hooded cloak made of wool or of camel's hair mixed with wool.

The Tuareg have two types of footgear. The older type, a sandal with the end folded back over the toes, is held in place by a narrow strip of leather which passes around the heel below the level of the ankle, and is attached to the sole directly between the great and second toes and indirectly by a loop on either side of the foot halfway between the instep and the heel. The second type, [439] usually imported from the Sudan, is a large flat sandal which extends out about an inch beyond the foot in all directions. It is held in place by a V-shaped pair of broad strips of leather with the arms of the V attached directly to the sole on either side of the foot and the point attached to a thin roll of leather which passes between the great and second toes. The older type is rarely seen today, but still survives in some of the more mountainous regions.

And so we come at last to the mysterious "teguelmoust," the men's veil that has done so much to make the Tuareg so famous. The

291 teguelmoust is actually a combination veil and turban made of a band of lightweight cotton cloth some 10 feet long by a foot or so wide, preferably dark indigo blue in color but often white or black nowadays. This band is wound around and around the head and face so as to leave exposed only the eyes and a small patch on the crown of the head. The lower edge of the eye opening is often doubled over in the middle so as to draw the cloth tighter across the bridge of the nose, thus preventing the veil from slipping down. The slit left open for the eyes is made as narrow as possible on formal occasions, and is then strikingly reminiscent of the snow goggles of the Eskimos.

Self-respecting Tuareg still think it shockingly indecent for a man to let his mouth be seen by anyone to whom he owes the least formal respect, so much so in fact that Lhote (1955, p. 307) was able to write of Tuareg women married for over 20 years who claimed never to have seen the mouths of their own husbands. When a man is eating or drinking, the left hand is slid up underneath the fold of cloth that covers the face so as to hold it out away from the mouth without raising it above chin level, and the spoon, bowl or glass containing food or drink is then passed up under the veil with the right hand in such a way that the mouth and even the chin remain concealed during the entire process. A Targui about to enter a camp other than his own must stop first and arrange his veil so that the eye slit is very narrow, for to do otherwise would place him in a position similar to that of a stranger ostentatiously whistling at the girls in a small American town. It may be taken as a general rule that a Targui will never show his face to anyone whose social standing he considers superior to his own.

But when, where and from whom did the Tuareg get the curious idea that men must all wear veils while women go without? All that Lyon, Barth, Duveyrier, Benhazera, Reygasse, Rodd, Bovill, Lhote, Blanguernon and your humble servant, among others, have been able to elicit from the Tuareg themselves over a period of a century and a quarter of patient effort is that self-respecting men wear veils and always have, simply because it is the proper thing to do. Duveyrier (1864, p. 391), followed more recently by Rodd (1926, p.

291 288) and Lhote (1955, p. 305), held that the teguelmoust cannot have had a utilitarian origin because it is worn by men whose womenfolk habitually go unveiled in spite of the fact that both sexes are exposed to the same rigorous environment. Benhazera (1908, p. 39) agreed with this theory, and cited as evidence the fact that Tuareg men questioned by him all denied flatly that the veil was intended to serve any useful purpose. Other equally serious investigators have gone to extremes of both fantasy and caution. Barth 1857a, vol. 1, p. 424), for example, suggested that the veil, turban and floppy fez "combine to imitate the shape of the helmet" of a mediæval knight, although the supposed resemblance is about as farfetched as any that one can think of, while Blanguernon (1955, p. 99), after noting that the veil is in fact very useful whatever its chief purpose may now be, prudently declined to speculate as to its origin on the very reasonable grounds that there is no factual evidence at all to go on. It has been suggested too that Tuareg men hide their mouths only because they think it shameful to expose either end of the alimentary canal, just as we think it shameful to expose the lower extremity thereof (Foley, 1930, p. 25, among others); but if this is so, then why are women's mouths not considered just as shameful as those of men?

The arguments advanced in favor of the theory that the teguelmoust cannot have had a utilitarian origin fail to convince the present writer, for several reasons. In the first place we must remember that the men of all Saharan nomad tribes often veil their faces with a fold of the turban when out in the sun and wind or in a sandstorm, although being veiled or not seems to have no ceremonial implications for any of them except the Tuareg. Everyone who has traveled at all extensively in hot deserts knows that it is often advantageous to the point of being almost essential when on the trail to cover the head, nose and mouth with light, loosely woven cloth, for such a covering protects the wearer from the sun and wind and also maintains a pocket of relatively moist air, kept humid by the breath, around the mouth and nostrils. This last function is of great practical importance in that it protects the mucous membranes of the respiratory

2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

291 tract which otherwise suffer severely in an arid climate, even when the ambiant temperature is only moderately high. Thus it is clear that the teguelmoust does have a very real practical value, regardless of what the Tuareg may say; and it is clear also that the men who wear it need it far more than do their womenfolk who go without.

291 512 462 It is not true that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar (fig. 48) are exposed to the rigors of their environment either as much or in the same way as are their menfolk. The men are out and about a good deal of the time, riding here and there across the countryside on errands of one sort or another or on long journeys far away, while the women sit quietly in the shelter of their tents, gossiping, telling folk tales, doing fancy leatherwork, and teaching tribal lore and sometimes Tifinagh [11] to the children. Every family that is [567] not miserably poor has at least two or three slaves to fetch and carry water, prepare the meals and do the other daily chores, so that the mistress of a normal Tuareg household in the Ahaggar has no need to take a single step outside her tent except when camp is moved, or to visit with her neighbors and to answer calls of nature.

291 171 Although it is true that Tuareg women do not wear veils, it is also true that women of the other Saharan nomad tribes, Arabs included, seldom if ever wear veils either, except on the very rare occasions when they visit a sedentary settlement or town, and even then not always by any means. But Tuareg and other Saharan nomad women alike all draw a corner of the head shawl (or turban cloth) across the nose and mouth occasionally as a simple matter of physical protection, and this has the same practical effect as putting on a veil does.

291 All this data on the wearing of veils and going without them proves nothing, to be sure, but it does go to show that the Tuareg teguelmoust itself can have had a strictly utilitarian origin, after all, as Blanguernon (1955, p. 99) implied, quite apart from the origin of the elaborate and rigid ceremonial quality with which its use has become imbued.

291 177 As for the date at which the teguelmoust

[11] The Tuareg alphabetic script.

291 177 was introduced among or developed by the Tuareg, we have as yet only negative evidence to go on and precious little of that. All we can say with any assurance is that it cannot very well be older than the introduction of cotton cloth, which is self-evident, and that it could easily have been derived from some quite ordinary type of turban, like that of the Arab Chaamba for example. Cotton cloth must have been introduced into the Sahara on a commercial scale very soon after the introduction of camel domestication had led to the establishment of a regular caravan trade with Egypt, if not before. There are indications 291 175 that it may have been known in the Ahaggar as early as the 5th century A.D. (Reygasse, 1950, p. 98) and perhaps even in late Neolithic times, and yet there is no evidence in the literature that the Tuareg were wearing veils before the 10th or early 11th century. As Rodd (1926, p. 328) has said: "It seems very strange that none of the classical and post-classical authors should have recorded a feature which so distinguishes this people from other races. There is no reference to the Veil until we come to the first Arab authors. . . ." Desert raiders remarkably like the Tuareg are known to have been in increasingly frequent and violent contact with Romans, Vandals and finally with Byzantines from probably as early as the dawn of the Christian era until the first wave of Arab invaders arrived some 600 years later, and after that they were in contact with the Arabs for another 350 years or so before we begin to hear talk of veiled men in the Sahara.

El Bekri (Lhote, 1955, p. 128) describing the city of Tademekka (in the Adrar n Ifoghas country) as it was early in the 11th century, wrote of the inhabitants that ". . . they veil their faces as do all Berbers of the desert . . .," while Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338), writing 300 years later, said: ". . . we came to the country of the Haggar, who are a tribe of Berbers; they wear face veils and are a rascally lot." But these statements too are very strange, for the matter-of-fact language in which they are couched seems to suggest that even El Bekri may have taken it for granted that his readers were already familiar with veiled men of Saharan Berber tribes, presumably the northern Tuareg.

291 Tuareg. It is all very puzzling and mysterious indeed.

Tuareg women wear either a short cotton skirt that reaches just below the knees or a pair of baggy trousers, like those of the men but shorter. Like the men they usually wear a white gandoura with a blue one over it, but the under one at least is sewed farther up the sides leaving open arm slits only 1½ to 2 feet long. The costume is topped off with a shawl and a head scarf of indigo blue cotton cloth, the first measuring roughly 9 feet by 6 and the second about 4 by 2 feet as a rule. Lightweight woolen shawls, measuring as much as 10 feet by 6½ and white or darkish pink in color, used to be worn on festive occasions but have practically disappeared in recent years. Lhote (1955, p. 107) says that Tuareg women sometimes wrap goatskins around their shoulders in wintertime. Straw hats with very high conical crowns and enormously wide, floppy brims, made of narrow interwoven strips of palm fronds, were always worn in summertime by women of rank, especially when on a journey, but these too have almost completely disappeared. We have already seen that Tuareg women never wear a veil, which is just as well since many of them are extremely good-looking, but they often drape a fold of the head shawl loosely across the nose and mouth when sitting out in the open or riding on the trail, simply as a matter of physical protection. Young unmarried Tuareg women and girls are inclined to be overcome with giggles when strange foreigners arrive in the camp, and then they hide their faces with a corner of the shawl or whatever piece of clothing is most handy, just as little girls do everywhere in the world.

302 Tuareg women sometimes plaster their foreheads and cheeks with mudpacks of red or yellow ocher, and smear their mouths with indigo and the region of the eyes with black pigment made of powdered antimony or charcoal mixed with grease. This lurid make-up [751] gives fairly good protection against sun and wind, and the Tuareg consider it very beautiful as well although to our eyes it makes the wearer look absolutely frightful. Men also use black pigment around the eye openings, 291 especially on gala occasions.

439 The reader will have noticed that the

291 Tuareg attach considerable importance to
[439] indigo blue cotton cloth, a product which they get from the Sudan. This material is commonly known as "chegga" (pronounced *shegga*), and the most archaic and highly prized variety is made of a multitude of long strips about an inch wide sewn tightly together. The cloth itself, of very ordinary quality, is so heavily impregnated with crude indigo as to be literally stiff with it. A brand new piece looks black when seen at a distance or in a poor light, but in bright sunlight it is a dark purplish blue with a coppery sheen like that of cheap carbon paper; and the indigo dye comes off on your fingers at the slightest touch, just as the ink on carbon paper does but much more so.

302 Obviously, anyone who wears clothes made of such material is soon stained with indigo from head to foot, and the Tuareg even rub it into their skins on purpose. Women often smear it on their foreheads, cheeks and temples and around their mouths by way of make-up. The
[751] Tuareg claim that indigo not only protects human skin from the direct effects of sun and wind but also lubricates it and so prevents cracking, and they are quite right, at least up
[515] to a point. If the Tuareg wash themselves only very rarely, it is partly to preserve the accumulated protective coating of indigo, the humble practical value of which has been
[554] gradually enhanced by an ever-increasing value of prestige that has risen in proportion to the rising cost of indigo-dyed cloth. A dirty looking, bluish skin is admired by the Tuareg just as much as a rich golden tan is admired in midwinter by the business men and women of New England and New York.

515 It should be noted that in the Sahara Desert proper one can go unwashed for long periods without either feeling or looking noticeably dirty. The air is so dry that perspiration usually evaporates instantly upon reaching the surface of the skin, and so it is unusual for anyone to sweat visibly. Most of the nomadic
[147] natives are in excellent physical condition in that they are very lean and wiry, and so they sweat relatively little in any case. Thus it is extremely rare to meet one who has any perceptible body odor at all, regardless of whether he looks clean or not. White foreigners are seldom in anywhere near as good physi-

515 cal condition, and they appear to sweat much more, perhaps in part because nearly all of them persist in maintaining their European eating and drinking habits. There is a strong hint here that a systematic investigation of the relationship between diet and sweat loss in the Sahara might produce some very interesting and useful results.

When an Arab nomad of the northern Desert goes to town, the first thing he usually does is to head for the public baths and get himself thoroughly steamed and scrubbed all over, but the Ahaggar Tuareg almost never visit any town big enough to have public or even private baths. A few permanent waterholes and a number of seasonal ones are to be found, however, scattered thinly through most of the Ahaggar massif, and the Tuareg of the region make use of such pools occasionally, though perhaps not quite as often as do their cousins of the Aïr, of whom Rodd (1926, p. 163) wrote as follows: "In justice to my friends, I must admit that they washed their clothing, and especially their white trousers, very frequently, and when they washed their person, they did so very thoroughly from head to foot, with much rubbing and a prodigious splashing of volumes of water." The Tuareg of the Ahaggar, women as well as men, wash themselves with equal gusto when they wash at all, and this is not the kind of thing that one would expect of people who have any real dislike or fear of water as such.

And finally it should be noted that among Saharan peoples in general, including the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, bodily cleanliness seems to show a pretty uniform positive correlation with economic status, as it so often does elsewhere in the world.

Racial Minorities, Parasitic Groups and Race
567 **Mixture.** We have already gone far enough into the question of slavery in the Ahaggar so that not much remains to be said about it here beyond a brief summing up of the situation. The slaves are almost all Negro captives from the Sudan, or the descendants of such captives. They are chattels which can be bought, sold and inherited, and they do all the manual labor and housework around the camp and also acts as shepherds. A slave can seldom marry without the permission of his master, who usually advances the necessary

567 dowry. But slaves are well fed and cared for as a rule; they get two or three days off each week to look after their own affairs, their children are brought up with the children of their masters, and custom forbids the freeing of a slave who is either too old or too young to fend for himself. A slave may even have a few goats of his own, although when he dies they are not inherited by his family but revert to his master instead. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 387) notes as a striking exception that he saw slaves hitched to a plow and driven with whips in the Auderas Valley, some 60 miles northwest of Agadès.

567 595 [827] Female slaves are often taken as concubines by Tuareg men of the Ahaggar, who prize them because they are less capricious and overbearing than Tuareg women are and "because they have cool skins," a point which would bear further investigation with a skin temperature machine. The children of such unions are often recognized by their fathers but do not inherit from them, and, although free, they have a debased social standing little better than that of their slave forebears. Moussa ag Amastan, who was Amenokal of the Ahaggar from 1905 to 1921,[12] remained unmarried for over 50 years, during most of which time he lived with a bevy of Negro concubines and a young Tuareg girl, named Harendou, whom he had captured on a raid into the Niger Bend country (Benhazera, 1908, p. 142; Lhote, 1955, pp. 221–23). Although this case was exceptional, it was by no means unique.

567 The slaves of the nomadic Tuareg, like those of sedentary communities in the Sahara, seem to have no tribal or clan organizations, but they too have a strong feeling of corporate solidarity that finds expression now and then in nocturnal jamborees which are Sudanese in character.

326 171 The smiths of the Ahaggar present a familiar culture pattern that characterizes groups of smiths and tinkers which, as we have seen, are to be found living among a whole series of nomadic peoples scattered all the way from Baluchistan through Arabia and on, southwest-

[217] [12] Lhote (1955, p. 220) gives the date of Moussa's death as 1920, the official genealogical table of the Ahaggar nobility, which is kept in the archives of the French Army post at Tamanrasset, gives it as 1921, and Foley (1930, p. 9) gives it as 1922. In 1956

2:Sing: E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

326 ward and then westward, across the North
[171] African hinterland to the shores of the Atlantic. The general description of this pattern, given above in chapter V under the sub-heading *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in the section on *Agricultural Centers,* leaves little more to add.

326 Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single
463 family units or small groups widely separated from each other (fig. 50). A few families follow Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds, but the great majority remain sedentary most of the time in one agricultural center or another, and go out only now and then for a few weeks or months, to do a general repair and re-equipment job in the camps of some
[759] nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while the women specialize in fancy leatherwork and embroidery. In addition to these functions
[584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of the smith community act as both go-betweens and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also engage in intertribal secret intelligence work. And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and confidant.

326 The smiths usually dress as do the poorer
[291] Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a general rule, although a few have more than one wife and some of them marry Haratin or occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their lowly social status, but probably in fact more because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the delicately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind co-operation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Annexe du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover
142 the whole range of human variation between the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, *a*).

326 And this brings us to another exasperating
174 blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.[13] The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are
614 disappearing fast.

565 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar
173 confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

[13] Here the author has laid himself wide open to
[114] a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

565 173 614 Arab and Tuareg ancestry. Benhazera (1908, pp. 90, 102 and 222–23), Lhote (1955, pp. 234–36) and Blanguernon (1955, pp. 52–55) all agree in lumping most of them together in a special almost tribelike class known as the Issoquamaren, but they do not agree entirely on just which clans should be included in this group. According to Benhazera the Issoquamaren once claimed descent from a woman purchased in the Adrar n Ifoghas country by Arab invaders who came there straight from Mecca about the middle of the 7th century A.D., and he adds that they are thought to have moved northward to the Touat early in the 12th century. The first part of this tale is very characteristic of the marginal Arab schools of historical fiction, or fictional history if you prefer, which are often no more reliable than is the modern school of lecturers who tell us, for example, that the Tuareg are descendants of veteran crusaders who came to the Ahaggar from the Levant. This parallel that spans the centuries is funny, to be sure, but there is much more in it than just an amusing concidence. It is a striking illustration of the fact that uncritical minds, Moslem and Christian alike, are always deeply moved by thoughts of the past glories of their race and of "that old time religion." We must never forget the dangers of grotesque misinterpretation that result from the action of this powerful subconscious force. Most of the Saharan peoples who have been converted to Islam stubbornly insist against all sense and reason that they are of Arabian Moslem origin.

According to Lhote (1955, p. 236) the Issoquamaren are believed to be the descendants of Arab fathers and Tuareg mothers of the Tademaït region, whence they were recruited as mercenaries by the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, but Blanguernon (1955, p. 52) holds that they are descended from a group of Arab tribes of the Tidikelt and the Touat who were defeated and then assimilated by the Ahaggar Tuareg in the 18th century or possibly before. The Issoquamaren have been thought by some to enjoy a social status superior, at least in

[114] unrest as well, and so he has had to resign himself to filling in small but important gaps in relatively complete pictures rather than run a serious risk of getting bogged down for months or doing only a superficial job in attempting to reconstruct pictures whose main outlines even are as yet unknown.

565 theory, to that of ordinary vassals (Lhote,
173 1955, p. 236), but in fact they are looked
614 down upon as greatly inferior to Tuareg vassal clans (Blanguernon, 1955, p. 52). Although the Issoquamaren clans and fractions have been parceled out among various tribes of the Ahaggar confederation, they still seem to retain some remnants of the social structure of a single and united tribe. Since the Issoquamaren have become rich in camels, they have regained in practical power and influence most of what they once lost in hierarchical prestige.

[131] The Irreguenaten are based on the Tamesna region south of the Ahaggar, and nomadize from there northwestward across the Adrar n Ifoghas sometimes even as far as the Erg Chech (pronounced *Sbesh*). They are believed to have sprung from a series of marriages between Gouraran and Kounta Arab men and Tuareg women of the Ibotenaten clan. The descendants of these unions became so numerous and so very rich, in camels and in slaves, that they were finally able to establish a separate clan of their own. Although they are included in the vassal category, they enjoy a nebulous but well-recognized position of precedence in relation to most of the other Tuareg vassal clans.

The Irreguenaten constitute a matri-clan subdivided into two patri-clans, the Haggarenin and the Settafnin, which are based on supposed descent from two ancestral Arab groups, one of them thought to have been of Shorfa stock. And this is very interesting as an example of a matrilineal clan structure that has been effectively split into two patrilineal clans while still remaining basically a unit in the matrilineal terms of Tuareg social and politico-economic organization and, to a great extent, in terms of its own internal economic organization too.

565 It will be noted that the partly Arab clans
614 of the Ahaggar Tuareg confederation live for the most part outside the Ahaggar proper,
101 and are distributed in an arc that curves
131 around its southwestern, western and northwestern borders. The northwestern extremity of this arc continues curving eastward, then southeastward and finally on southward around the territory of the Ajjer Tuareg confederation. The southern gap in the circum-

565 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the
614 Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern
101 Aïr. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of
131 this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 There have probably never been many
174 Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in
563 the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab
[797] Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first arrived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
[591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since
[611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
174 an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

794 The religious order of the Tidjani used to count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage
778 to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahaggar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 150 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually
771 been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

648 The European conquest of the Sahara Des-
797 ert has done much to stimulate the Islamization of the Tuareg in general during the last

648 100 years, for Marabout and Shorfa families
797 of the North often found it advantageous to move southward and attach themselves to Tuareg tribes or clans whom they then proceeded to stir up against the French and Italian newcomers. In this way the Koran became a kind of battle flag of local resistance to European penetration throughout the Sahara. The Camel Corps troops, who have long maintained order for the European rulers of the Desert, have always been recruited mainly from among Moslem Arab nomad tribes, notably the Chaamba, and their thinly scattered garrisons and outposts in the Tuareg country soon came to serve as centers for the continuing diffusion of Islamic doctrine. And finally it has
[582] become less and less unusual for noble ladies of the Ahaggar to marry men of Arab Shorfa or Maraboutic families. Thus racial and religious penetration have marched hand-in-hand into the Tuareg country, following the path that leads through adversity to union in a common cause, and so to bed.

792 The basic relationship between the "living saints" and the warlike nomads of the Sahara Desert is clearly stated in the Old Testament, as Monod (1947, pp. 72–73) has pointed out with keen insight and inimitable wit. In Esau and Jacob he recognized the pastoral nomad warrior and the holy man of the Sahara, where Marabouts and Shorfa families used to parley instead of fighting and bought off raiders just as Esau bought off Jacob long ago (Genesis, *32*). In Monod's words: "The Marabout's soul is in anguish at this extreme but inevitable generosity which he imposes on himself, but he would a thousand times rather have anguish in his soul than brought into his body in the shape of a sharp javelin ending its whistling flight between his shoulders. But there are times when the Marabout gets his revenge for the humiliating brutality of the warrior. The latter is indeed too simple not to be superstitious, and so, with the roles reversed, there comes a day when he in turn will tremble before the religious chief and implore the blessing of the sorcerer on his raids; for who would dare undertake such an expedition without the magic formulae and the amulet which will assure success for the enterprise and personal safety in combat? The man of God alone confers, and not without a price,

2:Briggs E-4,5 (ca.1956) 1958
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[P.102A] Hoggar

792 the power that is entrusted to him; and the man of the sword pays. It is indeed his turn."
000 As a typical example of a nomad warrior buying the benediction of a holy man, Monod cites the transaction between Abram and Melchizedek, "the priest of the most high God" (Genesis, *14:* 18–20), and he reconstructs the scene in imaginative but wholly convincing detail drawn from his long experience among desert nomad tribes. After Melchizedek had invoked the blessing of God on Abram, the latter said: "How much will that be?" "Nay, my lord is joking," replied Melchizedek, "It's free, I *give* my blessing; I *give* it to him." And Abram bowed down and said (thinking that after all if the blessing wasn't paid for it might not work, and knowing only too well moreover what his interlocutor meant by "gift"): "Harken unto me: I give the price of the blessing and of the amulets for my camels; accept it of me." And Melchizedek answered him: "Let not my lord be vexed, and may he harken unto me: I do not sell him power, I give it to him. But if in return he chooses to bring me the tenth part of all that is his, what is that between us?" And Abram understood, "And he gave him tithes of all" (Genesis, *14:* 20).[14] Nothing could be more characteristic of desert nomads and revealing of the basic relationship between them and holy men in the Sahara Desert and elsewhere.

105 **Summary.** The Tuareg of the Ahaggar are a diversified pastoral nomadic group who live in a very arid mountainous massif, an environment that requires extreme mobility.

Their social organization seems to be based on essentially matrilineal and patriarchal extended and joint family clans which are grouped into tribes that form a confederation. There are two main social classes, commonly referred to as "nobles" and "vassals," and rank, which embodies the right of succession to authority, is inherited in the female line, but a new chief can take and hold office only by consent of a general council of all male heads of families or clans who come under his control. This is doubtless because the clans that are strongest in terms of material wealth and fighting manpower as well are in the

[14] The King James Version of the Old Testament does not make quite clear just who gave tithes to whom, but Knox (1948, p. 18), in his translation of

105 "vassal" class. Thus the government is in effect a republic of basically Berber type which is kept from turning into either a democracy or an hereditary autocracy by the presence of a double descent system whose origin is unknown.

The economy is now based on the conservational domestication of camels, goats and hairy sheep, and on crop sharing with sedentary Haratin tenant gardeners. The flourishing caravan trade of the Tuareg has been largely destroyed by mechanized competition, while the exaction of toll charges from passing caravans of other groups and the practice of systematic raiding have been suppressed altogether by the French authorities. Thus the whole economic structure has been thrown seriously out of balance and is now disintegrating fast.

Manual labor and domestic services are performed by Negro slaves of Sudanese origin, who are usually present in numbers roughly equal to those of their masters. Manufactured goods are obtained mainly from outside the area in exchange for salt that is mined locally. Equipment maintenance and the occasional manufacture and decoration of articles of metal, wood and leather, are in the hands of a few small and scattered families of semi-sedentary smiths about whom almost nothing is known.

Shelter takes the form of small lightweight tents of leather or sometimes grass huts. Clothing is loose, voluminous and light in weight, and men wear a combination veil and turban which protects their eyes from glare and their faces from wind and sunburn. Tuareg costume is an ideal mechanism for the purposes of insulation, ventilation and sweat-loss control in the climate of the Ahaggar, although the Tuareg themselves claim to have no knowledge of or interest in its very great practical value.

Thus we see that the Tuareg of the Ahaggar had achieved an adaptation to their chosen environment that was about as perfect as could be, in terms of social, political and economic organization and of material culture, until the forces of European culture contact

the Vulgate as interpreted in the light of earlier Greek and Hebrew texts, leaves no room for doubt on this point.

105 began to destroy the economic base and so to undermine the entire structure.

2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
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[P. 163A]
[Pp. 103B-162B not processed]

141

We have already seen that the Saharan Tuareg are famous for their extreme tallness, which, however, has often been grievously exaggerated. The fact remains, nevertheless, that they are the tallest people in our area and among the tallest in the world. The mean stature of males is approximately 5 feet 8 inches, a bare ½ inch below the American male mean, but individual statures vary widely, from about 5 feet to 6 feet 5½ inches in the series that have been published. The legs of Tuareg men are relatively long but their arms are of only ordinary length in relation to their stature. Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 22), followed occasionally by more recent authors (*e.g.*, Lhote, 1955, p. 165 and Blanguernon, 1955, p. 43), listed excess of span over stature as one of the two most distinctive physical peculiarities of the Tuareg. A glance at table A–11 shows that his theory has no foundation whatever in fact, for span exceeds stature in nearly all human populations everywhere, while even the Mzabites and humble Haratin are set apart much more distinctly in this respect than are the Tuareg. Tuareg shoulders are narrow both relatively and absolutely, by European standards, and hips are rather narrow too. Chests are small and relatively flat.

The heads of the Tuareg are typically longish, with a mean cephalic index just below the lower limit of mesocephaly, but occasional individuals have low brachycephalic indices. Faces are moderately short and wide, with foreheads that are often very broad by European standards although relatively narrower than those of other Saharan groups. Lower jaws are narrow both relatively and absolutely.

[1] Dixon (1923, p. 21) described his fundamental "Proto-Negroid" type merely as Dolichocephalic (long headed), Hypsicephalic (high headed) and

2:Briggs E-4,5 (ca.1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P.163B] Hoggar

141 Noses are of medium length and fairly broad, with a mean index that is high by European standards but only average for the Sahara. Ears are moderately large in size and of ordinary proportions (figs. 46–54).

142 Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 20), again followed by Lhote (1955, pp. 162 and 165), has laid great stress on the nasal profile as the prime distinctive racial characteristic of the Tuareg. "The Targui nose," he wrote, "is high, narrow at the root, long, slightly aquiline, but never convex in its entirety as one finds among Semitic types. . . . *It ends in a narrow and drooping point*" (the italics are his). But this peculiar nasal profile does not appear to occur in females, nor is it found in all of the men by any means. In fact, the present author is inclined to think that it is probably not a heritable character at all, but merely an artificial deformation produced by the pressure of the veil which the older boys and men of the Tuareg bind, often tightly, across the lower half of the nose (fig. 26, *b*).

Unexposed skin is usually white or pale brunet. As Duveyrier (1864, p. 382) wrote, it is white in infancy but becomes quickly bronzed by exposure to the sun. The degree of tanning is extremely variable, however, and may sometimes be related to incipient blondism or rufousity on the one hand or to negroid admixture on the other.

Eye color varies normally from light to very dark brown, but blue and mixed eyes do occur occasionally in spite of all that has been said to the contrary (Leblanc, 1928–29, vol. 39, pp. 20 and 33; Lhote, 1955, p. 163). In April, 1956, Henri J. Hugot (*verb. com.*) met a Targui of

Platyrrhine (broad nosed), and his "Caspian" type as Dolichocephalic, Hypsicephalic and Leptorrhine (narrow nosed).

2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

142 the Mouydir region who was about 5 feet 10 inches tall, and had "an ivory white skin and very pure sky-blue eyes." General Daumas (1845, p. 326) and Duveyrier (1864, p. 382) both reported blue eyes as occurring now and then among the northern Tuareg, while Saïd (1903, p. 36), Verneau (1916, p. 240) and Rodd (1926, p. 161) speak of blue and gray eyes among their southern cousins. Eyes other than brown must be really rare in the Ahaggar, however, for the author has not observed any there himself, while both Blanguernon and Pierre Cocquet (one of the oldest European inhabitants of Tamanrasset) could remember only two Tuareg men with blue or gray-blue (or light mixed?) eyes when he questioned them on this subject in November, 1955.

Hair color in adults is practically always very dark brown or black. Lhote (1955) says, however, that blond babies are not uncommon, which suggests the possible presence of a partially submerged factor for blondism. He also mentions having seen an adult male Targui of the Ajjer who had red hair and "albino eyes." Hair form varies normally from straight to curly, with a small minority in the frizzly to woolly range.

Tuareg women appear to be fairly tall, but with arms and legs of only moderate length in relation to their bodies. The few female facial measurements that have been recorded suggest that their faces are both smaller and relatively narrower than those of males—and yet, the author cannot refrain from recording his impression that the flaring malars of Tuareg women often give them a startling resemblance to Indian women of the southwestern United States and Mexico, a trait that does not seem to be shared by their menfolk. Female noses are markedly narrower than are those of men, but this again may be due only to the fact that women wear no veils.

143 The Tuareg of the Sahara, and even their cousins who live south of the Desert proper, all show typically Berber *ABO* blood group patterns which set them clearly apart from all other Saharan peoples whose blood has been examined, except for the Teda. In fact we can say that the northern and southern Tuareg, of the Ajjer country and the Air respectively, are "super-Berbers" in their very high *O* percentages, while the Ahaggar Tuareg,

143 curiously enough, seem to be slightly less "pure" in this respect. The latter group, however, has a very low incidence of *B*, which is another typically Berber character and suggests, moreover, a relatively low degree of negroid admixture.

The Ajjer Tuareg are the only people of the Sahara who have been examined for blood group factors other than those of the *ABO* series, and they have been tested in addition only for gross *Rh* positive and negative reactions. The results of these tests indicate that the Saharan Tuareg have an extremely high incidence of *Rh* −, comparable to what one finds among Moroccan Berbers. Kabyles too have moderately high *Rh* − percentages, which, however, do not appear to exceed those of Arabic-speaking groups of Morocco and northern Algeria (Briggs, 1955b, p. 112). This latter situation is due probably to the fact that speakers of Berber and Arabic have intermingled extensively over the last 900 years in most of Barbary, excepting the more remote mountain districts of Morocco. Tuareg of the Aïr, which lies south of the Ahaggar and outside of the Sahara proper, have a very low incidence of *Rh* −, indicating extensive negroid admixture which has, nevertheless, had surprisingly little effect on their outward appearance.

In closing our discussion of Tuareg serology, we may add that the typically Berber combination of very high *O*, low *B* and very high *Rh* − finds a striking parallel among the Basques, who live in the mountainous frontier country that lies between France and Spain. We are still in no position, however, even to make a guess as to what this extremely curious coincidence may mean.

174 [114] The possible origins of the Tuareg have been discussed far more extensively and by more authors than those of any other Saharan people. Barth (1857–58), Duveyrier (1864), Rodd (1926), Lhote (1955) and Blanguernon (1955), to mention only a few, have devoted dozens of pages to the subject. But their original sources consisted only of the writings of Classical and Mediæval Arab historians and travelers, whose verbose, obscure and contradictory statements hardly allow of any broad deductions above the level of rough guesswork, and of the traditions of the Tuareg

174 themselves, which are either hopelessly vague and sketchy or obvious fabrications of Islamic inspiration, or a combination of the two, and which also are often contradictory. In the opinion of the present author it seems unreasonable to hope to learn much about Tuareg origins from literary sources, either written or preserved by word of mouth.

172 Fortunately, other kinds of sources are open, to us. The so-called tomb of Tin Hinan (fig. 174 40), the legendary ancestress of the Ahaggar Tuareg (*see* Reygasse, 1950, pp. 88–106, and Wheeler, 1955, pp. 107–11), yielded a rich collection of jewelry including objects of gold, silver and iron and beads of glass and semiprecious stone, as well as various other odds and ends such as fragments of leather clothing (?) and wooden furniture, Roman lamps and glassware, arrow (or javelin?) points and nails of iron, and thin discs of gold that had been pressed over a coin or coins of Constantine the Great. Specialists consulted by the author[2] agree on two points: firstly, that most of this material bears no resemblance to anything we know from Egypt or the Sudan while all of it may well have come from elsewhere; and, secondly, that the whole assemblage has a distinctly eastern Roman flavor and may date from as early as the 4th or as late as the 6th century A.D. The iron projectile points are faintly disturbing, for they look almost exactly like those used on arrows by the modern Teita who live in the Coastal Province of Kenya Colony (Prins, 1955). All of this does not help us much, however, for as Wheeler (1955, p. 111) says: "In the absence of comparable relics within hundreds of miles of Tin Hinan, it is impossible at present to put her fortlet and tomb into a wider context." The one important lesson to be learned here is that we may hope to learn more about the origins of the Tuareg from future excavations of similar monuments and ancient habitation sites in the Tuareg country and surrounding regions. In the meantime we can only fall back once more on physical, linguistic and cultural evidence.

144 Physically the modern Tuareg of the Sahara

[2] These authorities included Christine Alexander and Vera K. Ostoia of the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York City, Anthony J. Arkell of University College London, Dows Dunham of the

2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 165B] Hoggar

144 seem to be very close to northern Berbers, and particularly to relatively isolated and supposedly purer populations, notably the Rifians and Baamaranis (figs. 66 and 67), of northeastern and southwestern Morocco. They resemble these peoples in arm length, head form, facial proportions in general, nose length and nasal profile, hair form and skin color. They differ from the northern Berbers chiefly in that they have narrower shoulders and hips, longer legs, slightly broader noses, longer ears and darker hair and eyes. Their chests are smaller and flatter than those of Rifians or Kabyles but no more so than those of Baamaranis. Tuareg women are distinguished particularly by their short upper faces, narrow foreheads and long noses. We note in passing that the Tuareg seem to be closer in general to the Rifians and Baamaranis than to their eastern cousins.

Thus it is apparent that, metrically speaking, the Tuareg are markedly differentiated from northern Berber stocks only by a more elongated and refined general morphology, the details of which may well be adaptive characters developed locally in response to the extreme stresses of the central Saharan environment, as Bates (1914, p. 33) noted long ago. The broadness of adult male noses is probably due to nothing more than the pressure of the veil, although there may be an adaptive factor also involved. The rareness of
[143] light hair and eyes may possibly have been brought about by genetic drift operating in a population where endogamy within the tribe and usually within the clan has long been customary.

Thus we see that the Saharan Tuareg seem to fit very well, both metrically and morphologically, into the great Berber family of Northwest Africa in which their membership has already been established on the basis of both linguistic and serological evidence. But much work still remains to be done before we can even begin to define their relationships to other members of this family or to the other peoples of the Sahara who surround them on three sides.

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, George M. A. Hanfmann and Hugh Hencken of Harvard University, and Raymond Mauny of the *Institut Français de l'Afrique Noire* at Dakar.

144 The question of the racial origin of the Tuareg, as a branch of the Berber stock, is so intimately bound up with the problem of their origin in the broader sense which we have just been discussing that there is not much left for us to say about it separately. The learned 144 authors cited earlier in this section have all had 174 their say, but we have seen that their conclusions rest on evidence which is unavoidably [114] fragmentary and usually equivocal as well, since there is no other kind available at present. As for ourselves, we shrink as did Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 44) from the temptingly spectacular but risky sport of skating over such thin ice in pursuit of a dream, no matter who the dreamer may have been. We are already in substantial agreement with the opinion of Vallois (1948, p. 40) that the Tuareg came into the Sahara probably from the North and possibly about the beginning of the Chris-

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174 tian Era, and we had better let it go at that for the time being. There are indications in the mythology of the Tuareg that they were already Berber-speakers when they arrived in their present homeland. There are vague hints too, in the tales of Herodotus as well as in the serology of the Teda, that people something like those whom we now call Berbers may have been living in the eastern half of the Sahara for centuries before the birth of Christ, but whether or not they could have qualified as Tuareg, or even Berbers, in the sense in which we have been using those terms, is about as moot a question as one could hope to find. More and much fuller studies of physical morphology, blood groups and linguistics would go far toward helping us to solve the mystery of the Tuareg, but in the meantime our hands are tied.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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[Pp. 167-220 not processed]

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b

Fig. 6. Sandy desert and stony desert. *a*, The Great Western Erg. *b*, A camel trail in the Ahaggar. (Photographs courtesy of OFALAC, Algiers.)

[photo a not processed - Analyst]

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 228]

[Pp. 222-227 not processed]

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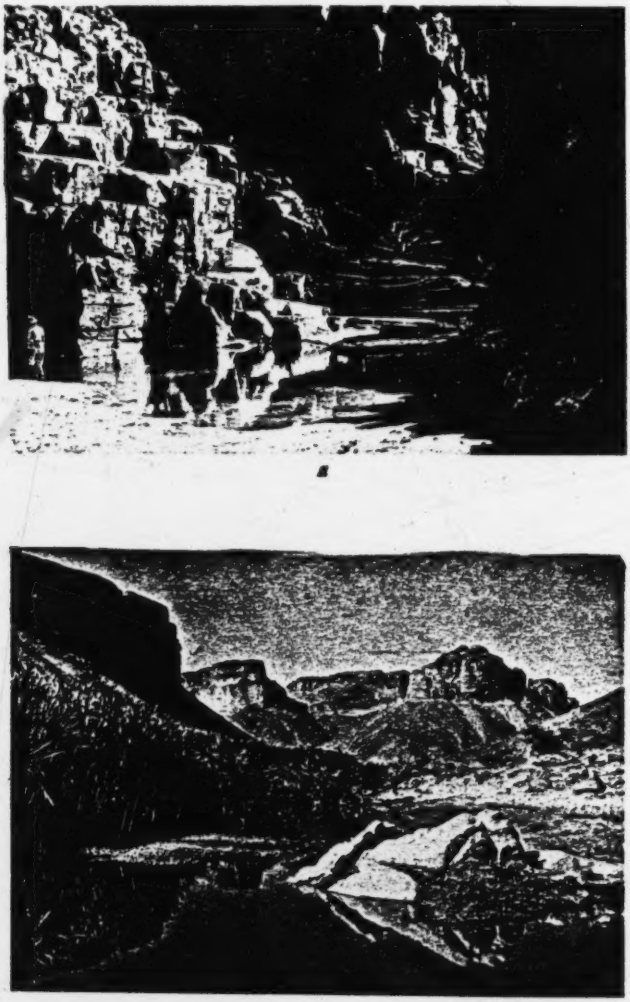

a

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Fig. 13. Waterholes in the Ahaggar. (Photographs by A. J. Weber.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
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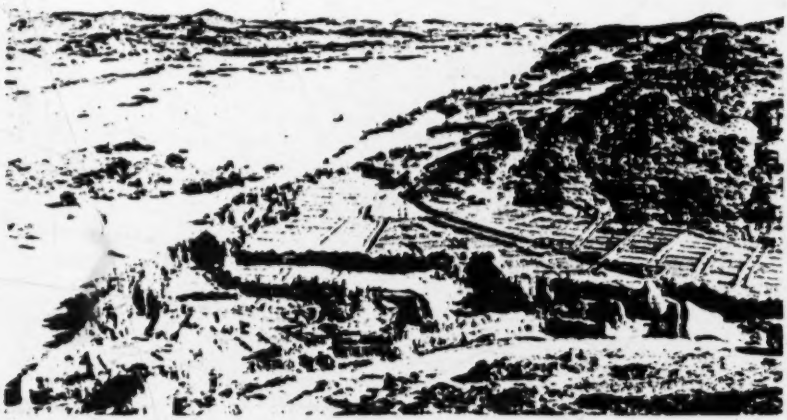

Fig. 14. Gardens at In Amguel, in the Ahaggar (80 odd miles north of Tamanrasset). Here we see the typical disposition of gardens in the agricultural centers of the central Sahara. A checkerboard of square garden plots, separated and at the same time connected by little irrigation ditches, is located just above the dry bed of an occasionally torrential stream, and just below the village, which is perched high enough above it to be safe from freshets and flash floods. (Photograph by Chasseloup-Laubat, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

[361]

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 235]
[Pp. 230-234 not processed]

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Fig. 20. a, Bey ag Akhamouk, heir apparent (and now paramount chief) of the Ahaggar Tuareg, with one of the last horses of the central Sahara.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
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[Pp. 236-238 not processed]

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Fig. 24. Tuareg warriors of the Ahaggar in single combat. (Photograph by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
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Fig. 25. Young Tuareg nobles of the Ahaggar, come into town for a spree. (Photograph by J. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 241] Hoggar

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a

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b

Fig. 26. Tuareg of the Ahaggar. *a*, Camel Corps soldiers. *b*, A young noble of the Kel Rela Tribe. (Photographs: *a*, by A. J. Weber; *b*, by L. C. Briggs.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
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Fig. 27. A noble woman of the Ahaggar Tuareg (Kel Rela Tribe). (Photograph by A. J. Weber.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 251]
[Pp. 243-250 not processed]

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415

b

Fig. 36. *a*, A typical camp site and tent of the Ahaggar Tuareg. *b*, A chief of the Ahaggar Tuareg sits before his tent, camel whip in hand and surrounded by his family. (Photographs by Chasseloup-Laubat, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 261]
[Pp. 252-260 not processed]

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Fig. 46. Noble Tuareg (Kel Rela) of the Ahaggar. (*After* Draper, 1931, pls. 33 and 34.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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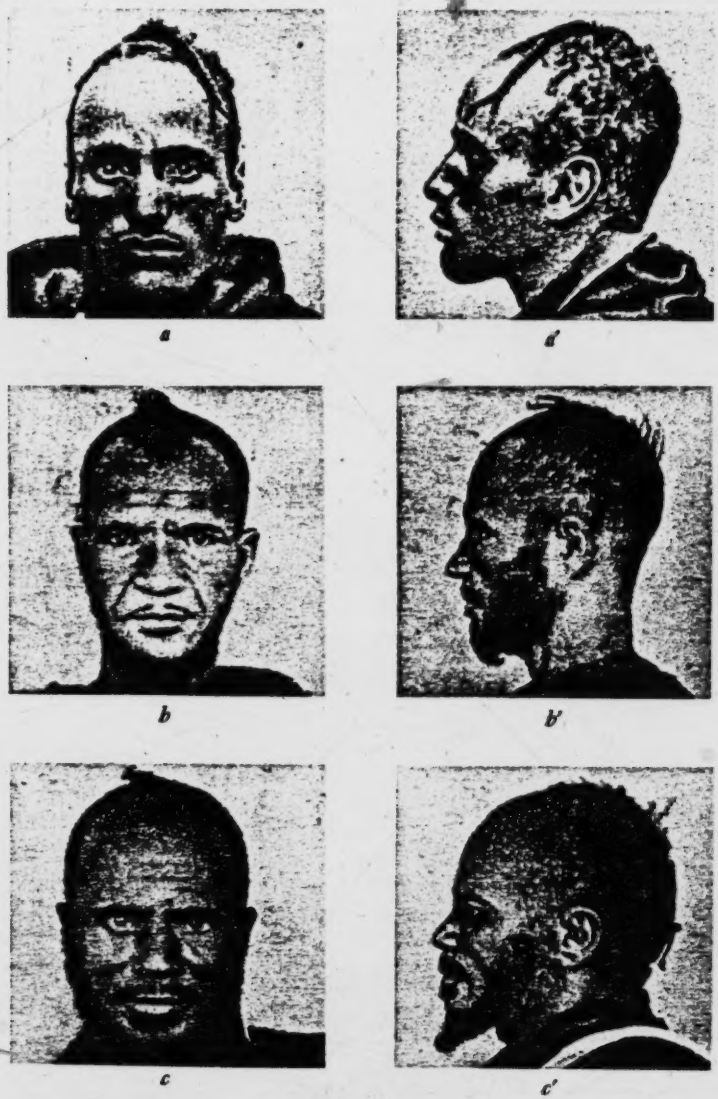

Fig. 47. Vassal Tuareg of the Ahaggar. (*After* Draper, 1931, pls. 32 and 34.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 263]

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a

b

291
516
142

c

Fig. 48. Tuareg women of the Ahaggar. (Photographs: *a*, by *Life* photographer David Douglas Duncan, © *Time*, Inc.; *b*, by A. J. Weber; *c*, by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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[Pp. 265-289 not processed]

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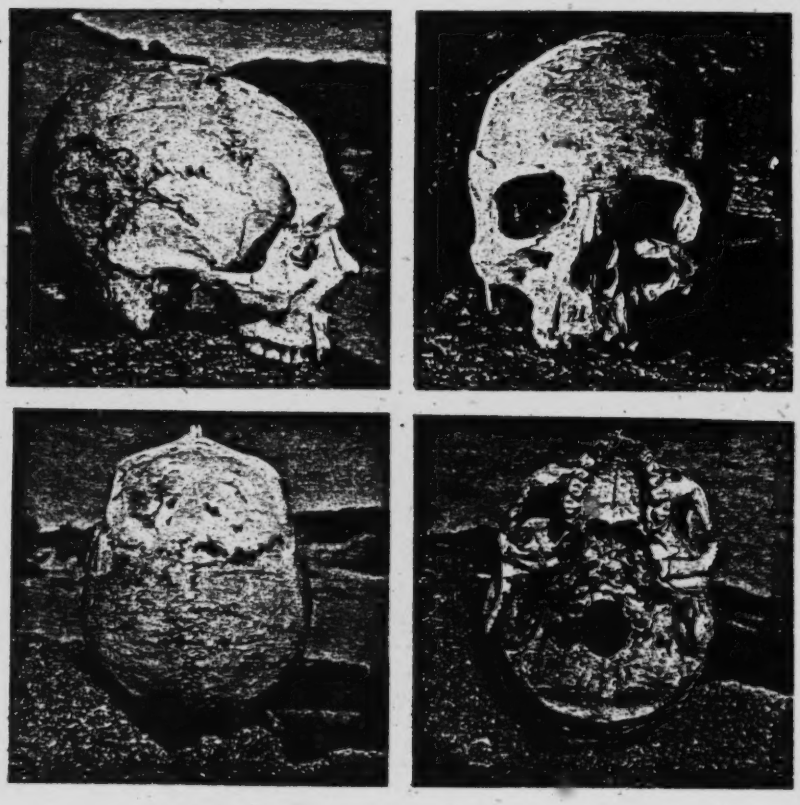

Fig. 49. The skull of a warrior of the Ahaggar Tuareg, killed at the battle of Tit (May 7, 1902), aged 25–30. (Note the extreme development of all muscular attachments, the very light wear on the teeth, and the absence of the upper third molars.) (Photographs by L. C. Briggs.)